1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 361 ●221 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

080 Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

●221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of incidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 257 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a winter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trapping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

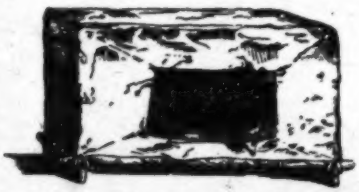
[1] Op. cit., p. 389.

[2] Ibid., p. 347.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 462 354 352

height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 221 171

In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs, covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes mak[illegible] are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches a[illegible] or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to dis[illegible] them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not transplanted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat is rubbed on it. 241 276 [278]

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed. 241 221

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use. 222 252 824 262

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 224 825 262 262